existed for centuries. Today it cannot be denied that some tribesmen, particularly the Ashiriz, belong to their group because of kinship relations (the Kurdish term ashir, from Arabic, 'a'ila, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal subdivision still to be found which seems to represent a patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial.

It is important to notice that there are two main bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administrative officers. The institution of dual legal systems was evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code. The differences between the two need not be considered in detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowanduz district a number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and its administration is not charged to the local judge, but is an added task of the qaimmaqam. Hence the office of that official in Rowanduz has often the aspect of a courtroom, the qaimmaqam and his clerk patiently and laboriously inquiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through an interminable parade of witnesses--coarsely-dressed

III

...rtship and billmen from remote villages—every ...n on a cloth-covered Queen for their long-winded depositions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little ...ghtliness or tea-shop ...ccess from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town. [265]

Those tribes having connections in the Rowanduz District, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Baleki under Mella Wuse Agha, the Bervinet under Mahmud Beg Khalifa Dauid, the Herki under Fetah Agha, the Herati under Hajji Hawy Agha, the Khoylani under Salim Agha, the Hamawi under Mohammed Beyidi, the Zertati under Fetah Agha, and the Surchi under Kadir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Baleki, the Bervinet, the Herki, and the Surchi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be seen later that a chieftain must have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the names of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the qaim of Rowanduz, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as As'ad Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Rowanduz, are unable to return to their villages because of a feud. [628]

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...ildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards ...r the district, although much is lacking in modern equip...ent and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical ...fficer, also subordinate to the kaimmaqam. There are 759 ...several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical 791 ...ervice in the district is in some disrepute, largely because ...f the character of the medical officer. Trained in ...ghdad, he was characterized as having expensive cures ...r expensive patients, and none at all for others. A ...ur servant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a ...ch, to this doctor was peremptorily told "to wash his ...by more often," barely a prescription of value as the ...ild was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman ...th some complaint entered the doctor's office while the ...ter was in conference with a visitor to the district. ...en the countryman asked for the doctor, this person ...mself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not ...re, and would not be expected for several days." Such ...fortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab ...ysicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery ...a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the ...wn are to be found the courthouse and residence of the ...dge (kadhi, hakim), the former a small, squarish mud- 394 ...rick building of a single storey. When court is in 695 ● ...session, there is usually a small number of villagers or ...ur people squatting or leaning against the front wall, ...iting to be called. The judge is the foremost of several 692

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his profits, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a commoner, tribesman or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaykhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send his away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Barzinet country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them